1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Villagers also have relationships beyond the village through economic, educational, and religious activities, and especially through matrilateral and affinal relatives.

THE POPULATION AND ITS ECONOMIC BASE

In 1958, the population of Hsin Hsing village was listed in the census records of the Pu Yen Hsiang office as 657 persons in 115 households.[6] A look at the available population records for Hsin Hsing and the twenty-two villages of Pu Yen Hsiang indicates a rapid but steady population growth for the area, which is in line with the trend in the rest of Taiwan. Population statistics for the village are available only for the period after 1953. Nevertheless, interviews with older people and reference to national statistics indicate that the population of Hsin Hsing village and the surrounding area was sparse in the early part of the twentieth century. There seems to have been a substantial population increase in the relatively prosperous late 1920's and 1930's, and especially in the postwar period after social order had been re-established. But, apparently starting in the late 1940's and especially in the 1950's, village population growth leveled out as the continuing increase was siphoned off by out-migration.

With regard to the national population growth figures, Barclay notes that "over the entire census period (1905–1943) growth averaged 1.76 percent per year" (1954b:13). In the first two decades of the century the natural increase of the population was about one percent. "By 1940 Taiwanese were increasing at close to the rate of 2.5 percent per annum" (Barclay, 1954b:13).[7] For more recent years the average annual rate of population increase in Taiwan (1953–1956) was 3.8 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115).[8] The average annual rate of population increase for mainland China for this same period (1953–1956) was 2.2 percent per annum (United Nations, 1957:114–115). Of Taiwan, Barclay writes that "Natural increase of such dimensions is exceptional. Such growth in itself implies that some change has taken place in the organization of human activities" (1954b:13).

This steady rise in rate of population increase cannot be the result of a rise in the Taiwanese birthrate. Over these years the Taiwanese birthrate shows a decline. The prewar birthrates in the 1930's were in the middle forties per thousand persons. In the immediate postwar period, apparently as a result of a continuing high degree of economic and political dislocation, the birthrates dropped to the high thirties. For the first half of the 1950's the rates were again up almost to the middle forties per thousand, but with a falling trend so that the 1957 and 1958 figures show less than forty-one births per thousand persons.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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village area was sparsely populated. At that time, what are now the large family groups in the village were only small family units living in much smaller houses than they now do. Villagers also recall that in the late 1920's, and especially in the 1950's, the local irrigation system was expanded so that water was brought to new lands. This permitted an increase in agricultural production, particularly in rice, so that the land could support a larger population. Older villagers also speak of the introduction of new health measures by the Japanese.

Apparently, then, Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang follow very closely the natural demographic trends, and in this respect closely typify Taiwan as a whole. (Those differences that do exist, e.g., the sex

TABLE 2

BIRTHS, DEATHS, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Population			Births			Deaths			Natural population increase
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Births minus deaths
Hsin Hsing	1956	302	339	641	17	13	30	2	3	5	25
	1957	312	332	644	16	11	27	2	2	4	23
Pu Yen	1956	13,229	13,466	26,705	654	594	1,248	125	121	246	1,002
	1957	13,441	13,784	27,225	542	548	1,090	127	138	265	825

ratio for the area [discussed below], point up the peculiar problem of land scarcity in the Hsin Hsing area.) For the years 1956 and 1957, the *average* rates of natural increase for Hsin Hsing village and for all of Pu Yen Hsiang respectively were 37.4 per thousand persons or 3.74 percent, and 33.9 per thousand or 3.39 percent.[10] (The breakdown of this in births and deaths for these two years can be seen in Tables 2 and 3.) These rates are not too different from the figures available for all of Taiwan for the years 1953–1956. The averages for these years show a natural population increase of thirty-eight per thousand or 3.8 percent (United Nations, 1957:114–115, 192–193).[11] (See Table 4.)

The population data for Hsin Hsing village and Pu Yen Hsiang for the five years between 1953 and 1958 show that females outnumber males. In Hsin Hsing the average ratio of females to males was about 100:94.2 during those years. In Pu Yen Hsiang it was about 100:98.5. The figures indicating this can be seen in Tables 5 and 6.

In 1954 there were 105 males to every 100 females for all of Taiwan. This latter large excess of males over females includes those males

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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(only civilians) who came from the mainland in the postwar period (HRAF, Taiwan, 1956:75). But even in 1940, when the Taiwanese population was more settled and the mainlanders had not yet arrived, the ratio was still 102:100. However, in a discussion Professor Chen Shao-hsing has noted that the latter ratio includes Japanese and that for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101; 100.

TABLE 3

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1956–1957

		Number of births per 1000	Number of deaths per 1000	Natural rate increase per 1000	Percent of natural increase
Hsin Hsing	1956	46.80	7.80	39.00	3.90
	1957	41.93	6.21	35.72	3.57
Pu Yen	1956	46.73	9.21	37.52	3.75
	1957	40.04	9.74	30.30	3.03

TABLE 4

CRUDE RATES OF BIRTH, DEATH, NATURAL INCREASE FOR TAIWAN, HSIN HSING VILLAGE, PU YEN HSIANG, 1955–1957

	Average number of births per 1000 persons	Average number of deaths per 1000 persons	Average natural increase per 1000 persons	Average percent of natural increase
Taiwan 1955–1956	46.5	8.5	38.0	3.80
Hsin Hsing 1956–1957	44.4	7.0	37.4	3.74
Pu Yen 1956–1957	43.4	9.5	33.9	3.39

for Taiwanese only it would be closer to 101:100. But in the rural area of Pu Yen Hsiang, and especially in Hsin Hsing village, there are many more females than males registered with the Hsiang Public Office. This apparently is an indication of the increasingly greater mobility of men to urban areas to find work. (This increasing mobility will be discussed in detail in later sections.)

As noted earlier, the 1958 population figures for Hsin Hsing village list 657 persons living in 115 households (*hu*) or an average of 5.71 persons per household. For all of Pu Yen Hsiang in 1958 the average

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

number of persons per household was 5.83. These figures can be seen in Tables 7 and 8. The size of the average household for all of Taiwan was 5.5 persons (Statistical Abstract of Republic of China, 1955:27).

In Hsin Hsing village households have practically no outsiders, either relatives outside the immediate family or servants of any kind.

TABLE 5

SEX RATIO, HSIN HSING VILLAGE
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	289	303	302	312	320	
Female	305	309	339	332	337	
Sex Ratio	94.8	98.1	89.1 *	94.0	95.0	94.2

* There is no apparent reason for this drop in 1956. It may possibly be a result of a statistical error in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office records.

TABLE 6

SEX RATIO, PU YEN HSIANG
(Females = 100.0)

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958	Average
Male	12,508	12,946	13,239	13,441	13,572	
Female	12,581	13,014	13,466	13,784	13,909	
Sex Ratio	99.4	99.5	98.3	97.5	97.6	98.5

TABLE 7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	594	612	611	611	657
Number of households	109	112	115	115	115
Average number of persons per household	5.45	5.46	5.37	5.60	5.71

There are relatively few families of what is commonly called the joint type, composed of parents, unmarried children, and more than one married son with his wife and children. There are a number of the so-called stem type, generally composed of a parent or parents, the unmarried children, and only one married son with his wife and children. Most households in Hsin Hsing are the nuclear type, composed

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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of parents and their unmarried children. (This material will be discussed in more detail under family and kinship in Chapter 5.)

As Tables 7 and 8 show, there has been a gradual increase in the number of persons in the average household in both Hsin Hsing and Pu Yen Hsiang. This is not, however, an indication of an increase in the number or size of joint families or a decrease in family division. Family division has, in fact, increased as a result of land scarcity and other related factors. The increase in household size is probably the reflection of increase in the size of nuclear families as a result of a decrease in infant mortality and a general decrease in the death rate. For example, in the sixteen-month period during which this research

TABLE 8

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD, PU YEN HSIANG, 1953–1958

	1953	1954	1956	1957	1958
Total population	25,089	25,960	26,705	27,225	27,481
Number of households	4,476	4,523	4,685	4,705	4,715
Average number of persons per household	5.61	5.74	5.72	5.79	5.83

TABLE 9

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN TAIWAN (from Barclay, 1954a)

Ages	Percentages for 1930	1940	1950	1953
0–14	41.0	44.2	41.3	42.2
15–39	39.0	37.3	40.8	39.8
40–64	17.5	15.8	15.4	15.5
65 and over	2.5	2.7	2.5	2.5

was carried on, Hsin Hsing village had twenty-two births and only five deaths. Of the latter, four were very old people in their eighties, and only one was an infant.

In Hsin Hsing village in 1956, 82.8 percent of the population was below the age of forty. This is quite similar to what Barclay (1954a:48) notes for the whole Taiwanese population. (See Tables 9 and 10.)[12] Such figures indicate that the population of Taiwan and Hsin Hsing is comparatively young, but they represent villagers who were registered as having their residence in Hsin Hsing. Many villagers, especially young adult males, actually live, though temporarily, in Taipei where they work to supplement the family income. While a number of them have made the move permanent and are actually registered as

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.3
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423
427
178

Prior to land reform, 14.6 percent of the leased land in Hsin Hsing was owned by Hsin Hsing villagers and 85.4 percent by outsiders, including public enterprises. (See table 14.) After land reform, in 1957, only about 9.1 percent of the leased land was village owned; 90.9 percent was owned by outsiders. (See Table 18.)

TABLE 18

TENANTED LAND IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1957

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427
311

	Paddy (*chia*)	Dry (*chia*)	Total	Percent
Land surface tenanted	14.8100	1.3825	16.2925	100.0
Tenanted land owned by Hsin Hsing landlords	1.4753	—	1.4753	9.1
Tenanted land owned by landlords outside Hsin Hsing	13.4347	1.3825	14.8172	90.9

423
427
178.
162

In the pre-land reform period (1949–1951), of the 92 farming households in Hsin Hsing village, 58 households (63.0 percent) were tenants, and of these 30 (or 32.6 percent of the village's farming households) owned no land whatsoever. (See Table 19.) In the post-land reform

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1951

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.3
0.1–0.5	6	1	1	7	15	16.3
0.5–0.5	8	—	6	8	22	23.9
0.5–1.0	9	2	11	12	34	37.0
1.0–1.5	4	1	3	2	10	10.9
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	1	3	3.3
2.0–2.5	1	—	—	—	1	1.1
2.5–3.0	—	1	1	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	34	6	22	30	92	—
Percent of families	37.0	6.5	23.9	32.6	—	100.1

period, the 1957 records show ninety farming households listed in the village of whom only 38 (42.2 percent) were tenant households; of these only 9 (10 percent of the total number of farming households)

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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owned no land, while the remaining 29 tenant householders were partial landowners as a result of the Land Reform Acts. (See Table 20.)

TABLE 20

NUMBER OF FARMING FAMILIES IN HSIN HSING BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED LAND, 1957

Amount cultivated in *chia*	Own all land	Mixed owner-tenant owns more than half	Mixed owner-tenant owns less than half	Pure tenant	Total number of farming families	Percent of farming families
Less than 0.1	4	—	—	—	4	4.4
0.1–0.3	112	1	—	3	16	17.8
0.3–0.5	111	5	5	9	20	22.2
0.5–1.0	118	9	7	2	36	40.0
1.0–1.5	5	2	1	1	9	10.0
1.5–2.0	2	—	—	—	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	2	—	—	2	2.2
Over 3.0	—	1	—	—	1	1.1
Number of families	352	20	9	9	90	—
Percent of families	577.8	22.2	10.0	10.0	—	99.9

TABLE 21

AREA OF FARMS CULTIVATED BY 36 FARMERS WHO PURCHASED LAND THROUGH LAND REFORM, 1957

Kinds of farmland	Area in *chia*		Percent
Land purchased under Land-to-the-Tiller Program		15.3716	59.6
Paddy field	13.0115		—
Dry land	2.3601		—
Land originally owned and cultivated by farmers themselves		4.5224	17.5
Paddy field	4.4374		—
Dry land	0.0850		—
Leased land		5.8980	22.9
Paddy field	4.7985		—
Dry land	1.1315		—
Total area		25.7920	100.0
Paddy field	22.2184		86.1
Dry land	3.5766		13.9

The rest of the land worked in Hsin Hsing in the post-land reform period consisted of the already mentioned 15.3716 *chia* purchased either under the 1951 act for the sale of public land or the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act, plus the 29.5567 *chia* owned by the villagers as indi-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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vidual, joint, or corporate owned land. However, if one considers the 15.3716 *chia* of land which changed ownership under land reform as

423

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part A. Pre-Land Reform (1949–1951)

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162.
178

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers later to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	19	52.8	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	4	11.1	—	0.0610	0.0610	1.3
0.1–0.3	7	19.4	1.0425	0.0240	1.0665	23.6
0.3–0.5	3	8.3	1.0784	—	1.0784	23.8
0.5–1.0	3	8.3	2.3165	—	2.3165	51.2
1.0–1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	4.4574	0.0850	4.5224	99.9

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF FAMILIES PURCHASING LAND UNDER LAND-TO-THE-TILLER PROGRAM, AND AREA OF FARMS THEY CULTIVATE
Part B. Post-Land Reform (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	Number of farmers to purchase land: Number of families	Percent	Area of farms cultivated including previously owned land (*chia*): Paddy field	Dry field	Total area	Percent
Landless: farmers owning no land	—	—	—	—	—	—
Less than 0.1 (*chia*)	2	5.5	0.3569	0.0150	0.3499	1.8
0.1–0.3	7	19.4	1.3773	0.2600	1.6373	8.2
0.3–0.5	10	27.8	3.6458	0.2482	3.8920	19.6
0.5–1.0	13	36.1	7.7481	0.5918	8.3399	41.9
1.0–1.5	3	8.3	3.5210	—	3.5210	17.7
1.5–2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.0–2.5	1	2.8	0.8218	1.3321	2.1539	10.8
2.5–3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Over 3.0	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	36	99.9	17.4489	2.4451	19.8940	100.0

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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ally contributed to a lower average amount of land tilled by owners in Hsin Hsing than in other villages and areas.

The two major improvements in the land tenure situation as seen in Tables 19, 20, and 23 are: first, the significant increase in landownership and decrease in tenancy, especially the decrease in the number of pure tenants; and second, the large increase in the number of Hsin Hsing mixed owner-tenants, who in 1957 owned more than half the land they cultivated.

It can also be seen from Table 23 that, in 1957, 70 of the 81 land-

TABLE 23

STATISTICS ON LANDOWNERSHIP CLASSIFICATION FOR HSIN HSING VILLAGE: PRE-LAND REFORM (1951–1952) AND POST-LAND REFORM (1957)

Size of class (*chia*)	1951–1952		1957	
	Number of farming households	Percent of households	Number of farming households	Percent of households
Own no land at all	30	32.6	9	10.0
Own less than 0.1	12	13.0	9	10.0
0.1–0.5	18	19.6	18	20.0
0.5–0.5	12	13.0	19	21.1
0.5–1.0	13	14.1	24	26.7
1.0–1.5	4	4.3	6	6.7
1.5–2.0	2	2.2	2	2.2
2.0–2.5	1	1.1	3	3.3
Total Landowners	62	67.3	81	90.0
Total farming households	92	99.9	90	100.0

holding families still owned less than one *chia* of land, and 46 of the 81 owned less than a half-*chia*. Thus, the land reform brought about virtually no increase in the total amount of land cultivated by Hsin Hsing villagers or increases in the number of families cultivating the land in each size category. While the reform produced important changes in the internal nature of the land tenure situation, it did not and could not solve the basic problem—an insufficiency of cultivable land coupled with rapid population growth.

Of the 115 households registered in the village in 1957, only 90 households can actually be considered farming families. The 25 registered households of Hsin Hsing village which do not cultivate land at all must be classed as village nonfarming, landless families. The breadwinner in such families may work locally as a hired farm laborer or may have gone off to work in Taipei because of the land scarcity. Once assured of an adequate living in the city, a few of such men sold off or gave up the very small portions of land they were cultivating. Once well settled in Taipei, a few brought at least part and sometimes

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:15). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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thought of by the villagers as an ideal type, is low in frequency of occurrence, as has been true for most of rural China. On the basis of the 1959 official population records for the village, only about 5 percent of the 99 households in the village could be considered joint families according to the definition. These five households consisted of 59 persons, about 10 percent of the total village population. The average joint family in Hsin Hsing contained 11.8 persons, considerably more than is found in the other family types.

The third type of economic family in Hsin Hsing is the stem family. In form, this lies somewhere between the joint and conjugal family types. The stem family in Hsin Hsing, following Lang's definition (1946:14–15), "consists of the parents, their unmarried children, and one married son with wife and children. The family of this type, too, can be broken, e.g., when only one of the parents is alive or the son has no children." Lang goes on to note that

> In China the stem family is not infrequently a reduced joint family. Some of the married sons break away from their parents after having stayed with them in a joint family; one of the sons and his wife and children continue to live with them until their death. But often the Chinese stem family is also an enlarged conjugal family. . . . A Chinese conjugal family which has only one son is enlarged when the son marries and brings his bride home, without being even temporarily separated from his parents.

According to this definition there are 29 stem families in Hsin Hsing, which make up about 29 percent of the total number of households. With an average of 7.3 persons per family, these comprise almost 35 percent of the village population. However, only a few stem families in Hsin Hsing represent a reduced joint family. Most are enlarged conjugal families in which one son has married and then had children. However, the process should be seen as cyclic. In many cases the head (*chia chang*) of a stem family was originally a member of a joint family which divided into conjugal families and then expanded into the present form of stem family.

Whatever form the economic family in the village may take, many of the basic features of the *chia* remain the same for all three. All the members of the *chia* live under one roof, except for a few who may work outside to supplement the family income and therefore live away from the village. The latter, however, are still part of the *chia*, although perhaps not part of the official household *hu*, depending upon where the individual is registered for residence. The *chia* is in theory supposed to function as a single cooperating unit in all of its activities —economic, social, religious, or any of the other areas of daily living. Therefore, all property—land, house, farm equipment, and general household furnishings—belong to the *chia* as a whole. Only personal clothing and items a woman brought into the house as part of her

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

with which these adoptions occur, it is obvious that the *sinaoiv* system of marriage is not "despised," even though economic circumstances are an important motivational factor. Nor does it seem to loosen the ties of affinal relationship; on the contrary, it seems in some ways to strengthen them. Since the *ch'in ch'i* relationship is accepted as a consequence of either a marriage or an adoption, the *sinaoiv* system simply has the effect of establishing it earlier than a regular marriage would.

In the Hsin Hsing area I have found no evidence, either, of any real dislike for the system by either set of parents. The girl's parents benefit by saving the expense of rearing an extra girl child whom they are unable or unwilling to support as well as by saving the cost of a wedding or of providing a dowry. The boy's parents gain a household worker, are spared the normal marriage expenses, and, in addition, have the advantage of raising their future daughter-in-law under their own roof. Since the villagers feel that the most common cause of family division is a dissatisfied daughter-in-law, a son's wife who has grown up since childhood as a member of the family is much less likely to want or to try to force a division of the family. In effect, the *sinaoiv* system is felt to conduce to the attainment of the ideal joint family, while not in the least impairing (in Hsin Hsing) the usual establishment of *ch'in ch'i* relationships.

Despite all this, there are indications that the *sinaoiv* system is becoming less frequent in Hsin Hsing and other areas of Taiwan. Further, even where such adoptions have taken place in recent years, it is noticeable that more and more often the girl is married out when she reaches normal marriageable age, rather than being married to the son of her adoptive parents. The trend seems to be quite recent, and there are a number of possible reasons for it.

Keeping in mind Lang's (1946:127) and Fei's (1939:54–55) explanations for the *sinaoiv* system of adoption and marriage, we can observe resemblances in several important recent developments in rural Taiwan. First, there have been notable changes in demographic patterns there, in recent decades especially, which have affected sex ratios (see Chapter 2) for both Hsin Hsing village and area and for Taiwan generally (Barclay, 1954b:212, Table 60). The ratio of women to men has gradually increased until there is by now almost an equal proportion of each, which makes the problem of finding a suitable wife for a son much less serious than it used to be. This great increase in the proportion of females is closely related to the decline of infant mortality rates as a result of better public health facilities and of the generally better economic climate and consequent higher standard of living which has been notable mainly during the past decade. The economic circumstances to which Lang and Fei attribute the persistence of the *sinaoiv* system are thus moderated. Both of these factors, the increased

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Both of these factors, the increased number of females and the improved financial conditions, mean that brides are both easier to find and easier to afford. As a result, *sioasiv* adoptions are less and less frequent, and girls originally adopted under the system tend more and more to be married out. Contributing to this latter tendency is the increasingly open opposition of young people to having their marriage partners imposed upon them arbitrarily by their parents. The opposition is likewise made possible by the improvement in economic opportunity for young people, in this instance by the growing ease of urban migration.

Probably some dislike for the system has always been present among the young people for whom *sioasiv* marriages were arranged. From the time of adoption the girl is treated as a member of the family—in other words, like a daughter, not a daughter-in-law. In the Hsin Hsing area, when the marriage is definitely decided upon the young couple are apprised of it. The girl is usually in her early teens at this point. Suddenly, then, the young people are confronted by a change in their relationship; no longer are they brother and sister, but potentially man and wife, with a whole new set of behavior and attitude patterns to absorb. At the very best, the situation is awkward for them. Much like a normal engaged couple, they develop an avoidance relationship; they may no longer remain alone in the same room and show increasing embarrassment in each other's presence, especially when others are around. If they are seen together anywhere, they are usually subjected to a good deal of teasing by friends and neighbors as well as their relatives. And, living in the same household, the pressure of maintaining the avoidance pattern is much greater than anything ever experienced by the usual engaged couple, who may scarcely know each other by sight before the wedding day. The couple entrapped by the *sioasiv* system undergo constant embarrassment, and as a result they often develop a resentment against each other that culminates in a strong preference for marriage to someone else entirely.

Formerly, the young people could not easily or openly express their opposition to the match, since they had almost no option but to do exactly what their families and elders had planned for them. Furthermore, they knew that if a *sioasiv* marriage had been arranged for them, this was usually because there was no other form of marriage possible, given their circumstances.

The recent demographic and economic changes in Taiwan have radically changed things for such young people. Now, thanks to the decreased necessity for such adoption marriages and the concomitant increase in economic opportunity for the young, they are increasingly able to express their opposition to a system which is not consistent with the modern tendency for allowing young people a much greater say in the choice of their marriage partners.

In Hsin Hsing, for example, one current reason why *sioasiv* adop-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

124 picture of life rather than ethnographic-type studies of any one area.

127 During the Japanese period in Taiwan (1895–1945), Japanese police,
175 administrators, and academic researchers also made extensive detailed studies in Taiwan. These works, such as the *Taiwan Szu Fa* (1910–1911), also were usually composite studies. But these more often dealt with specific aspects of Taiwanese (Chinese) life, such as: family, civil law, economics and agricultural processes, religion and magic (frequently viewing the local people as superstitious and backward), and general customs and habits of the Taiwanese. In these studies, the researchers frequently used scattered illustrative material drawn from either the cities and/or the rural areas of Taiwan.

Thus, a number of the Chinese and Japanese studies are generally valuable for providing a picture of early conditions for some general areas and on many specific subjects in Taiwan. They are, of course, also valuable for comparative purposes. Unfortunately, rarely, if ever, do any of them furnish any ethnographic or contextual picture of Taiwanese life for any particular area in Taiwan, and especially not for the area of Hsin Hsing village. This has meant, therefore, that the available material has been of only limited value in the historical reconstruction of life in the immediate area of Hsin Hsing. It is also unfortunate that either during or after World War II, the historical records for Hsin Hsing and its immediate area which, during Japanese times, were usually kept in the district police station were apparently destroyed or lost.

[4] *Pu Yen Chuang Yen Ke Chih*, no author, Ta Chen 15 or 1925, handwritten in Japanese with additions made in Chinese after the war. Found in the Pu Yen Hsiang Public Office. This source notes that in the Pu Yen area only about 600 *chia* of land were irrigated in the early 1900's. But by 1922 there were 2,100 *chia* of land irrigated, and in 1923 another irrigation system, the Er Pao Chen, was added.

[5] Barclay discussed how Taiwan was built up economically as a colonial area of Japan.

[6] Demographic figures for the whole island of Taiwan are based on local statistics from district public offices such as the Pu Yen Hsiang office.

The 1958 village population figures, the most recent ones cited in this section, differ from those 1959 figures used in the material in Chapter 3 on social organization. Figures from the earlier date are used in this section because they are the ones most comparable with the census figures available for the *hsiang* and all of Taiwan. On the other hand, the 1959 figures were the only ones specific and complete enough to be useful for the breakdown in social organization and family.

[7] These population growth rate figures are for Taiwanese only; aboriginals are not included.

[8] This population growth rate figure is only for Taiwanese and mainlanders in Taiwan; aboriginals are not included.

[9] Based on a discussion in May, 1958, with Professor Chen Shao-hsing, sociologist and demographer at the National Taiwan University. Some of the social factors affecting the birthrate and the trends in population growth will be examined in the chapters on social organization and especially on life cycle.

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"Our fathers leave us land, graves to care for, a business. If we do not have children to inherit these things in their turn, then the efforts of our fathers will be meaningless."

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There are, then, many reasons why a family must have children and grandchildren. Without descendants a person faces an old age of loneliness and suffering which will continue into his existence after death. Besides his personal sufferings, he will bring down upon the long line of ancestors who preceded him an existence of homelessness and hunger. Even if he is among those few who question the active existence of a life after death, he will hesitate to assume responsibility for breaking the chain that began long before and could continue long after him. Given the values of the society in which he lives, the achievements of his own life will taste of the futility of last night's pleasures.

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That this concern for social continuity is real is evident in the actual genealogical composition of Hsiachichou in 1960. At that time there were 79 men of thirty years of age or more living in the village, and 93 women of thirty years of age or more. Of these 79 men 6 had never been married, and 6 were married to women who had not as yet born children. Of the 93 women 12 had never been married, and 5 of those who had been married had never borne children. Yet of the 79 men all but 3 had living children or grandchildren, and of the 93 women all had living children or grandchildren. Social continuity is

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of such importance that regardless of the barriers which stand in their way almost every villager manages to provide himself with descendants. It may be by way of adoption, or it may be by claiming his or her

361 near the road and stream while the smallest units are up
361 in the mountains. The bus stops at each village and also
494 at several places on the road where narrow paths lead to other villages not on the road. The village centers are not far apart, for the most part ranging from 200 to 350 yards.

Upon reaching Sanlei the bus stops just beyond the center of the village in front of the temple (see Figure 2). It had stopped in the previous village of Erhlei about 250 yards back and also at a spot about half way between the two villages where a path leads up the mountain to a small village. After leaving Sanlei, it is 300 yards to Szulei and another 250 yards to Wulei, the end of the bus line.

494 The bus does not keep its schedule of nine trips per day due to frequent breakdowns. Since it takes about twelve minutes to go from Sanlei to the end of the line and back, villagers rarely prepare to go to town until the bus has passed. The twelve minutes between the time the bus passes on its way to Wulei and its return in the direction of town are often witness to much confusion and scrambling in the village by prospective passengers for the bus driver rarely stops unless the passenger is at the labeled bus stop.

• 162 Sixty-six households containing 409 people comprise
[161] Sanlei village. Talei, the li of which Sanlei is a part,
[621]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 46]

contains 248 households, about 1550 people.[1]

162 [161] Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Smulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if [829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 829 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 829 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area, he is rarely cited.

186 582 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong. The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

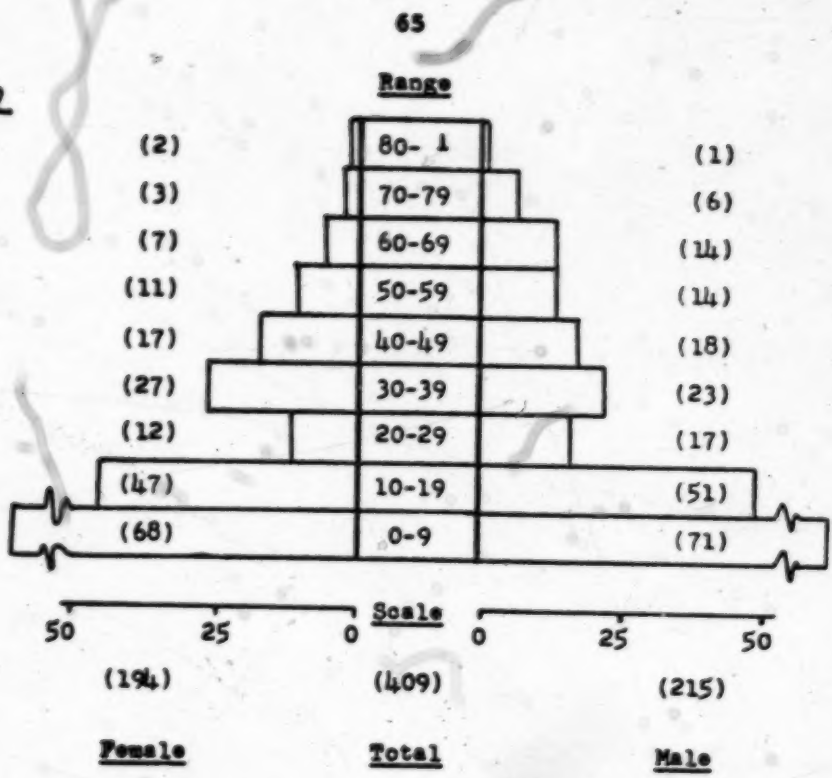

Figure 3. Population Pyramid, Sanlei Village, 1966

is seriously under-represented. In comparison with figures for all of Taiwan at the end of 1966 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3), the percentage distribution is nearly identical for most categories although there is a slightly higher percentage of people under 10 and also of people over 60 in the village as compared with the nation. However, in the 20 to 29 age bracket, the village percentage is 7.1% as opposed to Taiwan's 13.2%. Since the immediately preceding category, ages 10-19, is nearly

identical (23.8% to 23.5%) as is the immediately succeeding one, ages 30-39 (12.6% to 12.3), the deviancy is significant and must be explained.

People in the 20 to 29 age bracket are the most mobile. They are the oldest group who have received their entire education in the Chinese schools. Due to industrial development, opportunities for employment increased rapidly. For Taiwan as a whole, non-agricultural employment increased from 38% of the labor force in 1952 to 49% in 1966 (United National Statistical Yearbook, 1969:109). Young people, particularly girls, are living near the factories or in factory dormitories. At any given moment in time, a half dozen boys are away in the army and two or three are away serving apprenticeships. It does appear that many boys are likely to return and the girls will probably marry out while their replacements in a kind of equivalence exchange will marry in from other villages. This hope for the return of the young people to the village is based on many examples of urban dwellers who have returned. The village barber served an apprenticeship and worked in town for seven years, returning to the village at the age of 25. Both of the sons of Liao Tu, the temple caretaker, worked at a factory in town where they were registered. The oldest got married and returned to the village at age 27 when his first child was due. The younger son is now back and plans to get married soon and

56 live with his bride in the village. Another young couple,
166 working and living in Peitou, returned to Sanlei when
their child was eighteen months old because the boy's
[582] father became ill and required help with farming. Since
it is felt best not to marry until after satisfying the
military obligation, many boys marry soon after returning
home, often drawing brides from the pool of factory girls.
Because few married girls continue working in the factory
after marriage or after the first child is born at the
latest, the age when they return to the village helps ex-
plain why the 30-39 age bracket is fairly standard while
the 20-29 bracket is under-represented.

162 The sex ratio of 110.8 is higher in the village
than the 105.7 over-all ratio for Taiwan (United Nations
Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3). This difference is
partially due to the influx of Mainlanders since the four
residents were males only and also to the greater shortage
of girls than boys in the 20-29 age bracket discussed
above. For example, eleven girls and only three boys were
living in factory dormitories. This surplus of males is
significantly different than the sex ratio of 94.2 found
by Gallin for his village on the west central plain
162 (1966:33). Women are more mobile than men for factory
369 work in Sanlei and moreover, it is possible for men to
562 continue living in the village while working in the city.
Factories often provide supervised dormitory accommodations
(room and board) for girls but seldom for boys.

• 162 (room and board) for girls, but seldom for boys. An identical pattern of high sex ratios in the rural area is found in the United States in spite of the country's overall sex ratio of less than one hundred. This difference in the two areas of Taiwan might be a key to assessing the levels of modernization. It appears that Sanlei is more like rural America than for example, Gallin's Hsin Hsing, for it has the same high sex ratio and the identical practice of a higher percentage of girls than boys migrating to the city to work.

The average age of the Taiwanese population is seventeen years and four months (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:718). The average age of the Sanlei villager was just under 15. This difference too is partly due to the missing group in the 20 to 29 bracket explained above. It is also due to the fact that rural farmers are more fertile than urban dwellers and therefore, more young children are included in overall figures, lowering the average age.

An examination of the population within prime working ages, those between 15 and 64 as conventionally defined (Barclay, 1954:98), exposes a major village problem. 162 Only 44.2% of the Sanlei villagers are in this primary 464 work-force category and 55.8% are dependent. For Taiwan as a whole, 52.9% are in the prime work force (United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1967:172-3) while in the

162 464 United States, as in other highly industrialized countries, the percentage of the population in the prime work categories often exceeds 65% (Barclay, 1954:99). One of the problems of underdeveloped countries is the fact that such a large percentage of the population is dependent on others for sustenance. One could argue that individuals outside the conventional age range (15 to 64) are economic contributors and this is true for Sanlei village. Of course, it is also true for industrialized countries as well. Partially reducing the problem is the fact that entrance into the permanent labor force is at a younger age in Taiwan than in major industrialized nations (Barclay, 1954:98-100), and that the lack of a well-developed retirement system requires meaningful employment during the later ages beyond 65. Since education for villagers rarely extends beyond primary school, most villagers enter the regular work force permanently by age fourteen.

163 165 Taiwan has been undergoing a rapid population explosion. This is primarily due to a rapidly falling death rate which has reached an extremely low figure combined with a high birth rate which has more recently begun to fall. The figures in Table 2 indicate changes in demographic rates in Taiwan during the past sixty years. The death rates started to fall after 1920 and have reached a figure currently much lower than those

125 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the
591 other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966,
• 162 the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 The villagers believe the patrilineal extended
[83] family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. There are eight extended families in Sanlei,
[82] 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

597 It is possible to adopt a daughter, raise her, and at the
769 appropriate age, bring in an adopted husband to aid in
583 carrying on the family line. Of the 94 marriages previously listed, 6 were of this type, an adopted daughter who later had an adopted husband. (The discussion related to Figure 7 demonstrates this process in one generation.) In this kind of adoption plus marriage, although there is no "biological" continuation of a family line, there is a "sociological" continuation.

597 The third and final additional reason seems to be
608 based on friendship or interpersonal relations. It is possible that a ch'in ch'i (affinal) relationship may be established or an old one strengthened by means of adoption of a daughter. There were three adopted daughters in Sanlei that established new ch'in ch'i relationships between neighbors who had been good friends. In another case, an adopted daughter affirmed a relationship by a kind of exchange, a repayment of a daughter adopted in a previous generation although the first adoption was never construed as a debt. In all four cases, there was a movement of a daughter whose birth order in her natal family was fourth to sixth to a family which had less than two natural daughters.

597 Distribution of Adopted Daughter Types

162 There were eight unmarried girls living in Sanlei
562 who were adopted daughters, twelve who had been adopted and

597 married as siaosiv, and six who had been adopted and later
562 married to adopted-in husbands. Finally, there were five
• 162 wives who had once been adopted daughters but married out. In total, 31 females who were living in Sanlei at one time had been adopted daughters (see Table 9). Since there were 194 females at the time of the census, 16% had once been adopted. This may appear to be high, but the frequency appears to be decreasing and is probably related to the decline in siaosiv marriage and improved economic conditions. In a 1934-5 rural survey near Taipei, it was discovered that 25% of the females were once adopted (Okada, 1937), a percentage much higher than current Taiwan rates.

Table 9. Adopted Daughter Types in Sanlei Ts'un

Type	Number	Per Cent
Adopted, Unmarried	8	4.1
Adopted, Married as Siaosiv	12	6.2
Adopted, Married with Chao Fu	6	3.1
Adopted, Married Out	5	2.6
Total Adopted	31	16.0
Never Adopted	163	84.0
Village Female Total	194	100.0

The data regarding girls who were adopted out of Sanlei Ts'un is not as complete as will be explained by the details of where and how adopted girls originate. Nevertheless, among the families currently living in Sanlei, there were 15 girls who had been adopted out. There

597 is some overlap with the previous figures because an adop-
562 tion between families who both live in the village counts
• 162 twice, once as an "in" and once as an "out." The general opinion of the villagers is that the number of adoptions in and out of the village has been approximately equal.

597 One of the items of the household registration is
562 the birth order of the child, distinct for each sex.
[217] Birth orders are listed in Table 10 for the 31 adopted-in females. Residents argue that daughters are usually given in adoption because a family has too many already, but the data is only partially supportive of this belief. A high number of adopted children whose birth order is first or second indicates other processes are significant although nearly sixty per cent of the adoptions are from families which already have three or more girls. Since girls do not have a value as high as boys, it is quite probable that younger girls will be released by families that have several daughters. In some cases, it appears that economic deprivation necessitates the release of girls although there was only one family currently living in Sanlei who supposedly gave away girls for this reason.

[586] Divorce or widowhood among people who are not incorporated in larger chia also results in releasing children who may have a birth order number which is first or second. The exchange of natural daughters for adopted daughters to promote later siaosiv marriages explains some

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent than that of girls. At the time of the census there were [162] only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

587 Erhlei during our stay, the whole area was rife with gossip
[765] as to who her new husband would be. Since she had three children, one recently born, and could not continue alone, marriage would be expected as soon as a suitable suitor
[162] could be found, perhaps in a few weeks. Given the sex ratio, females have an advantage over males in obtaining a never-married spouse for a second partner and the overall shortage of women in the area has probably added to the elevation of their status.

Married Life

593 There is much less originally expected from a spouse after marriage than in America, i.e., only respect and a level of nurture but it appears that more is received. Villagers say, "If love and excitement come or if the two people enjoy talking together, that would be nice" (See Glossary C). Companionship may be provided by other members of the family, neighbors or for a man by his sworn brothers or for a woman by her age cohorts in the village; love could come from the same people and surely from the children. Of course, if two people live together intimately on a basis of respect and care, love nearly always comes and if it does not, it was never really necessary nor expected and the marriage can be a success in spite of the void.

581 The marriage usually starts in very strained circumstances for in a majority of the cases, the couple have little personal knowledge of each other, perhaps not even